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A F R E E

# CONFERENCE

Concerning the

Present Revolution

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# A F F A I R S

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CONFERENCE  
 CONCERNING THE  
 PRESENT SITUATION  
 OF  
 AFFAIRS  
 IN  
 ENGLAND

LONDON

1890

BY

TO THE

## READER.

**T**HERE have for many Years been a Malignant Party in England, that for their own private Interest, and from their inveterate Envy of other Mens ease and welfare, have made it their business to obstruct and frustrate all endeavours for the Publick Good of the Nation. Their great Engine has been their boasted Loyalty, and their zeal to maintain the King in his Prerogatives: When in truth their greatest aims were but to serve themselves, and to wreck their malice upon their Opposites. These were the Motives that made them so hot to give up the Subjects Liberties and Rights into the Kings hands, by surrendering the Charters: For they thought, like Haman, To whom will the King delight to do honour more than to my self, when they had been the Instruments to give up All into his hands. The same selfish and rancorous Spirit was, I am afraid, the chief Original of most of the Abhorrences of Associations and Bills of Exclusion, and of the Promises to maintain the Protestant Religion and the Succession in the right Line. For they knew well enough at whose beck and direction, all Preferments were bestowed in those days. And the same Spirit is now at work to hinder that general Ease and Happiness, that the whole Nation may partake of, if it be not their own fault. That all this is not, nor has been pure Loyalty, they have within this year or

## To the Reader.

two clearly demonstrated, since the King for politick considerations has thought fit to intrust and advance Dissenters and Moderate Church-men, as well as them, if not prefer these before them. 'Tis notorious with what Undutiful and factious Surmises (to use their own former words of the just thoughts of others) they have reflected on all the late Transactions of the King before the coming of the Prince of Orange was talkt on. Not that I will justify all the King did; but I am sure these mens pretended Principles would have done it in a great measure, if they would have stuck by them.

In the following Conference you have their Principles exposed, and the unreasonableness of their present Complaints and Insinuations demonstrated. I was forced to make use of the Nick-name of Trimmer for one of the Persons, because his Principles and Temper are better known by that Character, than if I had called him Moderate Church-man, or any thing else. My Captain is a high-flown Royalist, that has used to go under the Title of a Tory; and my Dissenter is not peevish and stinging, but one that can be very good friends with the Trimmer. Pray hear their Discourse without prejudice, and judge without favour which of them speaks the greatest Reason.

Farewel.



[ 1 ]

# A FREE Conference, &c.

*Tammer. Captain. Dissenter.*

*Trim.* **Y**our humble Servant, good *Captain*, I'm glad to see you; pray what makes you in Town? I thought your *Quarters* had been assigned in the Country.

*Capt.* I quarter in the Country? No, I'll see 'em all damn'd first.

*Trim.* Hold, *Captain*, not so loud! Pray are ye at leisure to drink a *Bottle*?

*Capt.* Yes, *ten*, if you will; for I have nothing else to do.

*Trim.* Pray then, let's go in here to the *King's Head*; and if you please, we'll desire my Friend here to go along with us; he's an honest man, and we may be as free in our discourse as we will.

*Capt.* With all my heart.

*Dissent.* I'll wait on you, good Sir.

*Trim.* Come, *Captain*, you're a Gentleman that keep the best Company, pray what News?

*Capt.* News? Why, every thing's new. New Masters, new Orders, new Declarations, new Conventions, and new *Quarters* for them that will take them.

*Trim.* Why, I hope you have not laid down your *Commission*?

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*Capt.*

*Capt.* Not laid it down, I'd not keep it if I might have the pay of a Colonel. I thank God I need not my Commission to live by; but if I did, 'twere all one: I'd starve before I would be made a Fool of by any Dutch-man of them all.

*Trim.* What do you mean, Sir, by being made a Fool of?

*Capt.* Is it not being made a Fool of, to be sent to the Devils, and to seek for Quarters, to make room for a medley of Foreigners?

*Trim.* Good Captain, be not so hasty. Consider the matter seriously, and you will not be so angry. As for your own part, I know you were so much the King's, that if he would have stuck by't, and made the most of it, you would have spent the last drop of your blood in his Service.

*Capt.* God forbid else! I hope I shall never have the sin of Disloyalty to answer for.

*Trim.* And there were many thousands in the Army, no doubt, besides Papists, of your opinion. And now that the King is gone, you all love him still, and would do him all the service you could?

*Capt.* Yes, or else we should be hang'd, as well as those Traitors that revolted.

*Trim.* Can you then blame the Prince, if he do not presently commit himself to such an Army, and send his own Army back for Holland? Especially considering the great number of Papists, that were in Town, when the Prince came to St. James's, and still under divers pretences and disguises skulk about the Town,

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Town, who so long as their *Allegiance* is safe, despair not of new Life. And even for that part of the Army that went over to him, a wise Man would have a care how he were over-confident of them; for 'tis an old Observation, that *Sudden Changes* are seldom lasting. Though some few of the Leading-men might be influenced to take part with the Prince in respect of his Noble and Heroick Undertaking to restore to us our Liberties and Rights, and secure our Religion; yet I doubt many went over to him from no such generous Motives. But some perhaps out of complacence to their Superiour Officers; others as Spies; others in hopes of better Pay or higher Prefectment; and not a few, 'tis like, merely for company in a great number.

Capt. Nay, you may add another sort, that run to him, because they durst not fight him; like a Company of damnd Cowards as they were.

Trim. Well, supposing the King's Army to consist of such thorough-pa'd Loyalists as your self, of Papists, and such as went over to the Prince upon the Motives abovesaid; Would any but a Mad-man have committed himself to such; and in the mean time have sent off those who have serv'd him faithfully for many years in Peace and War; who know no other Master, nor can have any other interest to serve but His? You would not, I hope, have this Town and parts adjacent burthen'd with two Armies; And if one must go further off, be you Judge, to whose Lot it should fall.

Capt. What then must we do to make us free; have

have *Swiss* Guards? English-men are not to be so much honour'd?

*Trim.* Pray, mistake me not: I'm only excusing the present Orders for Quartering: I doubt not, but when the Prince has effected the Ends proposed in his Declaration, he will be as good as his word, and send his Army back again to *Holland*.

*Capt.* And stay here himself?

*Trim.* As for that, I know no Law against it: And if the Nation be of opinion, that things either cannot be well settled without him; or being so, cannot be long maintain'd in such Settlement but under his umbrage and protection; and thereupon invite him to continue here, 'tis like he may be prevail'd with.

*Capt.* What, and the King excluded?

*Trim.* That is a tender point to be discours'd of especially with you, who, I know, are a *True Divine* Man. What the Parliament, when they meet, may resolve on, I know not; but if you can bear it, I'll be so bold as to give you my opinion.

*Capt.* Come, pray let's hear it.

*Trim.* What opinion soever some of our Church may have of the *Rights* of our Kings, I think it is neither *Divine*, nor even *Natural*; but only *Rational*. That is, that they have only *Executive* part of the Government committed to them by the People; under several *Restrictions*; but especially on condition that they take not upon them the *Legislative* part; nor act beyond the direction of the Law. Upon the presumption of their observation whereof, the Subjects swear to them

Allegiance,

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Allegiance, and declare upon Oath, That it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against them. But if contrary to this Trust, Agreement, and Expectation, they invade the Legislative Power, and set aside or suspend those Laws according to which they ought to govern, and so subvert the Constitution of the Government, I think the Subject is not bound up so *Absolutely* either by the Laws, or by his Oath, but that he may maintain even by force of Arms (if Petitioning, or Legal Remedies be obstructed) the Government, whether in Church or State, as by Law established.

*Dissent.* Pray, Sir, how long have you been of this opinion?

*Trim.* I have ever been inclining thereunto, but am the more confirm'd therein by a late Paper, intitled, *An Inquiry into the measures of submission to the Supreme Authority.*

*Dissent.* I thought so; because you make the invading the *Legislative* Power, by the King, the only ground why it may be lawful for Subjects to resist him. For that Author says, "The *Executive* Power being the King's peculiar, it cannot be lawful to resist him under any pretence of *ill administration* therein: But the Law having not lodged the *Legislative* Power in the King alone, but in Him and the two Houses of Parliament; if he invades that, the Law will not secure him in it, because he thereby subverts the Government and therefore he may be resisted." By which *distinction* he endeavours to justify.

justify the Church of *England* for taking up Arms at this time, notwithstanding their Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, and notwithstanding their condemning the Gentlemen of 41.

*Trim.* Well, and does he not do it clearly?

*Dissent.* No, indeed. For if the *Executive* power be the King's proper Province, and that for no *Male-administration* therein, is he lawful to resist him: then I will maintain, that the Church of *England* have acted unlawfully in their taking up Arms against him at this time.

*Trim.* Pray let's hear you.

*Dissent.* You'll grant me, that giving out a Commission (suppose of the *Peace*) to a person qualified to receive it, is *right* administering the *Executive* power, as to that particular: Then I say, granting a like Commission to a person *not* qualified to receive it (suppose a Papist or Dissenter, that will not take the *Tells*) is *male* administering the same *Executive* power: and not at all an Invasion of the *Legislative*.

*Trim.* No! is it not so? Is it not acting against the Law?

*Dissent.* Yets, and so are All ill *administrations* of the *Executive* power; for they are therefore ill, because they are against the Law. And put this Case: Suppose a person, *not qualified*, receive a Commission, and yet by virtue of it *act* nothing against, but altogether according to Law; and suppose another, *qualified by Law*, receive one, and by virtue of it *act* against the Law, and commit the greatest oppressions and injustice:



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side: Your Author's distinction would have it lawful to resist the former, but not the latter. Than which, what can be more absurd, and destructive of the Common-weal?

*Trim.* Well, but what do you talk so much of granting Commissions? Has not the King notoriously invaded the Legislative power, in suspending all Laws relating to Ecclesiastical matters?

*Dissent.* Perhaps not so much as you think. Not executing the Law is the same thing as suspending of it: only in one case the King *does not do* a thing, and in the other, he *tells* you he *will not* do it. 'Tis well known that (except a little while in the Popish Plot time) the Penal Laws for not coming to Church, against Popish Priests, against those that are perverted to the Romish Religion, &c. were not executed all the Reign of *Ch. 2.* and yet who call'd this, invading the Legislative power? And the Dissenters were sometimes prosecuted, and sometimes not, just as the pleasure of the Court was; but who ever complain'd of the Invasion of the Legislative Power?

*Trim.* Yes, did not the Parliament declare the *Indulgence* in 72. illegal, and in a manner constrain'd that King to call it in?

*Dissent.* I confess it: but was it because he had invaded the Legislature, or rather because he did *ill* administer, or *omit* to administer the Executive power, to which, as King, he was oblig'd?

*Trim.* What then, I perceive you're for the dispensing Power?

*Dissent.*

*Dissent.* No, Sir, I am not disputing for that ; but shewing the vanity of our Author's distinction : and how thin a shelter those have, who have nothing else to defend them from the reflections of the *Long Parliament-men*, but it.

*Capt.* I protest, Sir, you have met very well with my Friend. For there is not a pin to chuse betwixt the present Rebels, Revolters, and their partakers, and the Men of 41.

*Trim.* Yes, Sir, if there were no other difference but this: that the murder'd King *Charles I.* but God forbid that we should touch a hair of the present King's head.

*Capt.* As for that, you may remember what we have used to reply to the Presbyterians, when they would excuse themselves from that Blessed Martyr's Murder, That *they* cut off the Head of *King Charles*, though the *Independents* cut off the Head of *Charles Stuart*. If you divest the King of his Power, and so Un-king him, you may e'en as well Un-man him.

*Trim.* No, I abhor the thoughts of that: for *who can lift up his hand against the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltless?*

*Dissent.* It must be confest, things were carried further then, than many good and wise men thought of or designed. But at the first setting forward, he that reads but the Histories of those Times, will find that the pretences were as plausible for taking up Arms against that King, as they have been now against this. It was then a doubtful point, whether the power  
over



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over the *Militia* were wholly in the King; as it has been declared since in an Act of *Parliament* to be. And then, if you talk of invading the *Legislative* power, what think you of raising the *Ship-money*, and the *Loan-money* in those days; with which whosoever would not comply was thrown into Prison? And if the ousting of the *Magdalen Colledge* Men of their Freeholds without the Trial of their Peers, because they would not chuse him for their President, whom the King had recommended, inasmuch as it was contrary to the Statutes of their Colledge, be so great a violation of the Law? What think you of ousting so many honest Ministers of their Livings, because they would not read the *Book of Sports*, which was not only against the Law of the Land, but the Divine Law too? 'Tis needless to compare the two Cases in more instances. Any one that liv'd in those times, or has read the Story of them, may easily judge of the parallel.

*Capt.* What then, Sir, do you justify the Rebellion of Forty one? *Diffent.* Sir, that's not my design in my talk with my Friend; but all I have been saying, is only to let him see that he and his Brethren, for ought they have yet, or I think can plead to the contrary, must shake hands with the first Beginners of the Civil War. *Diffent.* I am glad to see you and my Friend's pardon; that is, I am glad to see you interrupting him, in what he was going to say about excluding or deposing the King.

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Trim.

*Trim.* I was a saying: That if the King subvert the Constitution of the Government, he may be opposed by Force, if representing the irregularities by way of Petition or Remonstrance, and praying for Redress, cannot prevail.

*Capt.* Hold, Sir, I cannot grant you so much; for the Subject has no other lawful remedy but *prayers and tears*. The King receives his Commission from God only, and to him only he is responsible. And though the King is bound in *Conscience* to rule according to the established Laws of the Land, according to which he swears to govern at his Coronation; yet if, notwithstanding that Sacred Tye, he will let them aside, or act contrary to them, it is not lawful to rise up against him by Force, but the Subjects must acquiesce; as they would and ought to do under some punishment inflicted immediately by the hand of God, and look upon such a King as a plague sent from the hand of Heaven for their sins.

*Trim.* These are part of Sir R. L'Estrange's Politicks, which we will leave him to maintain as well as he can, when he shall be call'd to't. And as many of the Clergy as have taken him for their Guide have harangu'd accordingly. But if this were truth, the Subject here is in no better condition than in *The Isle*, where the Will of the Prince is the Law. For if, notwithstanding the Constitution of our Government, the King be left at Liberty, as to any opposition or restraint from man, so as to act with impunity, as he pleases, we have no privilege above the greatest of Kings.

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falls in the World. Nay, our case is by so much the less eligible than theirs, by how much the want of a thing that we have a right to, and a sense and desire of, is more troublefom than the want of that which is wholly unknown to us.

*Capt.* Well, suppose the King may be oppos'd when he goes about to subvert the Constitution of the Government; yet I hope, when such Attempts are broken, and what was complain'd of, is redrest, you'll grant he ought still to be continued in the Administration of the Government; and that 'tis the height of Treason to withdraw Allegiance from him.

*Trim.* I should be as loth to be guilty of Disloyalty, as another man. But though in our present case many of the Male-administrations are rectified, and several illegal Sentences and Judgments reversed, and illegal Commissions revok'd, yet one would a little deliberate about admitting the King to the full Administration of the Government, unless those Powers and Principles that gave birth thereunto, were first disown'd and demand'd; and till things were settled on such a bottom, as that, though the King were willing, yet he could not bring them again to the same or a worse pass.

*Capt.* What then, you would divest him of his Prerogatives, make him a King, or no King?

*Trim.* No, but I would have his Prerogatives so explained, that it might be known how far they extend; what He might do by virtue of them, and where their proud Waves should be held.

*Capr.* Well, but those are nice and ticklish points, and what if the King be so chary and jealous of being abridg'd in them, that He will not permit them to be scann'd and limited?

*Trim.* Truly, as the case now stands, so long as the King so hugs his former evil Counsellors, that rather than part with them, he'll desert his Kingdoms; I would a little advise on it before I invited Him back again. You know who had his Ear and his Company most, after his Return from *Feverham* to *Whitehal*, the short while He staid there: which made it plain enough, that he thought not of taking any new measures. And now that he has thrown Himself into the Arms of the great Destroyer of the Subject's Liberty, and Enemy of the Protestant Religion, with whom he had long ago engaged to extirpate the *Northern Heresie*, there is little encouragement, I doubt, to advise Him again to the Throne without such Provisions and Conditions as may be a greater Security to our Rights, Liberties and Religion, than his Coronation Oath, or his Promises before and since have been. So that, to be plain with you, I would have Him kept where He is, till all the Assurance, that can be modestly or reasonably desired, be given, that the Affairs both of Church and State shall remain in the same condition they are by Law established.

*Capr.* And pray what kind of Government can you set up in the mean time, till this can be done?

*Trim.* Sir, I take it to be none of the least of the evil Counsels the King has been influenced by, to desert

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the Government; and leave all things in the greatest confusion He could. His Councillors did surely hope, that by that means we should fall into Parties, and not agree on any Expedient in order to a Settlement, without Him. And the truth is, the Case is so extraordinary, and the Means and Methods of settling us so new and without (allowed) Precedent, that nothing but the general averiness from Popery and hatred of Arbitrary Government, could have wrought so unanimous a consent in the Lords and Commons to the likely way we are now in. It cannot be expected that we should have any particular directions from the Law to authorize what has been done, or may further be done towards a Settlement; But Necessity neither has nor needs Law. He who was our Governor, has quitted his Dominion over us by forsaking his Realms, and passing into a voluntary Exile. And hereby every man's Natural right of disposing of himself freely, reverts to him: So that he is under no restraint but that of the Divine Law (whether in the Word or in his Conscience.) In this case he may transfer his natural power over himself into what hands he pleases; and I had almost said, on what conditions he pleases.

*Cap.* What, then, I perceive you reckon the Government is dissolv'd, and that we are reduc'd to a State of Nature. It may be you think of setting up a Commonwealth.

*Trim.* No, Sir, I look upon the Kingly Government, if duly limited, to excel all other. I only speak what Power the People of England now have  
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over themselves: but no doubt, they will think it most adviseable to continue the Government in a single Person: Not only because the contrary would seem a manifest injury to the Heirs Expectant of the Crown; but because the alteration of Government would at this time be the most unreasonable thing in the World: The change of *Gouverneurs* requires not the thousandth part of the *time*, or the Counsels and Debates, that changing the *Government* would. No doubt but the Papiſts, if they cannot carry it directly for the King, will use all the Art they can to set up a *Republican* Party; not but that they dread a Common-wealth as much as any other Government, but they'l do it, that they may embroil us; and will egg men on to contend for that which the greater and wiser part of the Nation are utterly averse from, only that we may fall to pieces. Such Dissentions (they know) would hinder the lending any assistance to the Confederates against *France*, or sending any Succours to the distressed Protestants in *Ireland*; and when we should have wearied our selves with setting up and pulling down, chopping and changing, without fixing upon any thing to general satisfaction, it would either be thought necessary to send for the King to come in again, hand over head, or he might force his way by the advantage of the general Distractions.

*Capt.* I perceive then, if the King will not do every thing you would have him, you'l not boggle at setting up another in his stead.

*Trim.* Sir, though we seem to have the King at an  
advan-



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advantage, yet I would not have it laid hold on further, than may consist with modesty and reason. I would have it first tryed what he'l: condescend unto, for the securing the Protestant Religion, the Rights and Liberties of the Subject from being again subverted and invaded, before I would think of throwing him off.

*Capt.* Well, and if you cannot have your Will of him, then you'l be for a Vote of *No more Addresses?*

*Trim.* You press me hard, Captain—

*Dissent.* Nay, e'en out with it, never make baulks of good Land. I know where it pinches, 'tis only because you would do nothing the *Long Parliament* did. When you have a Right, and cannot obtain it by Treaty, would you stand parlying to Eternity, when you can have it without His leave you demand it of? But what do I talk of an *Everlasting Treaty*? Pray consider whether 'tis adviseable in the present case, to treat at all.

*Capt.* Not treat at all? You look upon the King, perhaps, as a meer Reprobate; and hold, That *Dominion is founded in Grace*; and therefore that He has forfeited his Crown by being an Idolatrous Papist.

*Dissent.* Sir, I'll assure you, those are not my Principles. Though they cannot, I think, be maintained against any with greater reason and advantage than against Papists. 'Tis notorious that the Pope challenges a Power to depose all *Heretical Kings* when he pleases, and such he esteems all that are not of the Roman Catholick Church. How can he pretend to do  
this

this lawfully, unless Dominion be founded in Grace. And if the Papists act by this Principle when 'tis to their advantage; let them e'en allow it when it is to their disadvantage too. But my Reasons for not treating with the King, are not fetched from hence.

*Capt.* Whence then, I pray?

*Dissent.* Pray, Sir, hear me with a little patience, and I'll tell you briefly. You remember, upon the discovery of the Popish Plot, and of what hand the then D. of York had in it, how bent the Commons of England were in two Parliaments upon the Excluding him from the Succession; not only because he was a Papist, but because it did appear by his Secretary Coleman's Letters, that he had engaged with that sworn Enemy of the Protestant Religion, the French King, to root out the Northern Heresie. But the Lords, (whether they had conceived better hopes of him, or they thought it unlawful for any reason to put by the next Heir, or from what other Motive they best know), rejected the Bill, and the way was continued open to his Succession. It was but four or five years after that, before he obtain'd the Crown. And in the mean time, *Observator* and his Disciples were set on work to prepare men for his accession thereto. They could not deny but a Popish King over a Protestant Kingdom was something untoward; but then, in this Instance, if it did so happen, we should have a Person of the greatest Honour, Justice, and Gratitude: That the Laws for the maintenance of our Religion were so strong, that if he were minded, 'twas impossible to introduce



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introduce Popery : That though even that should happen by Divine permission, we had at least the same remedy with the Primitive Christians; *Prayers and Tears* : That evil was not to be done, that good might come of it. And a thousand such like plausible Arguments were inculcated, to influence people to a tame at least, if not a hearty admission of him. And that such bold Bills might never again be drawn in the House of Commons, it was thought expedient to take away the Charters from all Corporations (which send the greatest number of Members) and to new model them. To this purpose, the old Feuds betwixt the Church-men and Dissenters were revived and blown up to the greatest height, and the latter (who generally were for the *Bill of Exclusion*) represented as persons not fit to be in any Office, nor to have any Vote in choosing Burgesses, or otherwise. This design, many that had more malice than foresight, readily comply'd with: affirming, That it was ungrateful and unmannerly, as well as factious, to contest the matter with the King: That seeing the Charters were the Grants of Kings, it was fitting they should be surrender'd when the King call'd for them, that he might make what alterations in them he pleas'd. So that before *James* the Second came to the Crown, the greatest part of the Corporations had been dissolved, and both the Magistracy and Livery filled with such as had abhorred the *Bill of Exclusion*, and the *Association*, and had promised to maintain the Succession in the Right Line with their Lives and

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Fortunes ;

Fortunes; but all under pretence of zeal to the Church of *England* and the Religion establish'd. Well, Sir, when things were thus prepared, *Charles* the Second takes his lieve: and his Brother succeeds. Who presently in his Speech to the Council declared, *That he would make it his endeavour to preserve this Government both in Church and State as it was then established. That he knew the Principles of the Church of England were for Monarchy, and that the Members of it had shewed themselves good and Loyal Subjects, therefore He would always take care to defend and support it. I know too, said he, that the Laws of England are sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wish; And as I shall never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so I shall never invade any mans Property. I have often heretofore ventured my life in defence of this Nation; And I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just Rights and Liberties. These Promises were looked upon as the greatest Assurances that could be, that all things would run in their former Chanel; For the King's Promise was held inviolable, He having never broken his Word with any man; and therefore had gained the Title of The Just. I shall not descend to particulars, to shew wherein he has not answer'd that hope that was then conceived of him. The Prince of *Orange's* Declaration does abundantly shew *That, if you will but interpret the King's Evil Counsellors, of the King himself. Now if a person under the Engagements of such Promises, and under to great Obligations as the Church of England had laid upon him**

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him by asserting his Rights, maintaining his Interest, and casting themselves upon his Generosity (which to an ingenuous person is as great a Tye as any other) could yet break through all, take measures wholly subversive of that Church, invade the Rights, and infringe the Liberties of the Members of that Communion; it seems to me the most over-weening fondness that ever wise men could be guilty of, to court this Person again into a capacity of perfecting his Projects. For though, as a Reverend Divine did lately in his *Sermon* observe, "Many did believe it possible for Men of the *Romish* Communion to maintain Truth, Honour, and good Nature, and that some weight might be laid on their Promises, and so resolved to make the Experiment; yet now that they have taken such pains to let us see our mistake, it is to be hoped we will never at any time hereafter relapse into the like Error.] Especially in our present case, when any Promises or Engagements that could be given, would have this, besides all other pretences, for their non-observance, That they were forced. We have had Casuists of our own, that have determin'd the point in the Case of *Charles the Second* his Engagements at his Coronation in *Scotland*: And much more favourable may we believe would the *Romish* Casuists be to this opinion.

*Trim.* Nay, pray mistake me not; When I talk of treating with the King, I mean not that we should be content with a bare Promise, or even an Oath, but that things should be settled in a Parliamentary way,

and Security to be given us by Law.

*Dissent.* Sir, you know that we have had some of your own also that have affirm'd, That all Lawsthat do limit and intrench upon the King's Prerogative, are null in themselves, seeing he cannot divest himself of that Power that is proper to the Supreme Governour, and which God has invested in Him.

*Trim.* Puh! That's only *Observer's* Politicks, whom you know we have a long time exploded.

*Dissent.* I am glad you have so: But if a Protestant, as he boasts himself to be, teach such Doctrine in the Reign of a Popish King, when 'tis evident how ill an use might be made of it; we need not doubt but the Jesuits will maintain it, when they are in a capacity to practise upon it. But let that pass.

*Capt.* Why, Sir, the Prince in his *Declaration* proposes no other Security but by Parliament: and says he had no other design in coming for *England*; but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled, wherein Affairs might be so settled both in Church and State, as that it should be impossible to bring them again into the same state.

*Dissent.* I confess it: But you must consider, that things are now in a far other condition, than they were supposed to come to, when the Prince put forth that Declaration. But pray mistake me not: I mean not, that because the Prince has succeeded in his Undertaking beyond expectation, that therefore he should enlarge his Pretences, and bear the harder upon the King. Far be it from me to surmise such a thing of

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so Generous and Noble a Personage. But this I mean, That the King has entred into far other Counsels, and taken far different measures from what it might have been hoped he would. Who would have imagin'd, that rather than expose his evil Councillours to the Judgment, and subject the Affairs of the Nation to the prudent Arbitrement of a Parliament, he would desert the Government, and take no other Sanctuary but what the most obnoxious of his Ministers fly to. Things issuing thus surprisngly, no wonder if the Prince make use of other Means and Methods for our Settlement than he had projected. You know, though the King, upon his Retreat from *Salisbury*, had been prevailed with to send forth Writs for a Parliament to meet the middle of this Month, he revoked them upon his withdrawing from *Whitehal*, and so disappointed us all in those hopes we had conceived of an Accommodation. Whatever his Reasons were to do so then, must be more cogent with him now. So that if application should be now made to him to send out Writs afresh, 'tis very unlikely he should consent. Or if he should, to what purpose should they assemble, whilst he's not present to receive their Addresses, or sign the Bills they conclude upon.

*Capt.* That were a mad business indeed, to have a Parliament sit here, and the King in a foreign Country! No, let the King be desired to return, and then to call a Parliament; or at least to be here against the time of their Meeting.

*Dissent.* If he should be intreated, 'tis likely that

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He who could not be prevail'd with to stay here when he was here, would refuse such an invitation: Or if he would comply with it, it lay in the French King's power to prevent him. Or if he should come over, 'twere evident, how freely soever the House of Commons should be chosen, yet the King himself would be under such seeming constraint and necessity, that upon that account it could not be called a *Free* Parliament, nor consequently the Acts thereof reputed Genuine. There being all the reason in the world, that the King's *Consent* should be as free as the *Debates*, *Counsels* and *Results* of the two Houses.

*Capt.* Well, and why cannot the King be put into a capacity to act freely?

*Dissent.* Because he will not consent to the means to be put into such a capacity. I am bold to say, Unless the Prince, and those that have engaged with him, will be content to unravel and undo their whole Undertaking, dissolve their Engagements, and restore the King to the full exercise of his challenged Prerogatives, He'll neither confess himself, nor will those Councillors he sticks by, ever acknowledge that he's free. If indeed it did appear he were convinced of the illegality, and destructive tendency both to Church and State, of the things complained of in the Prince's Declaration, and would give up all those to condign punishment that have been the Counsellors and Actors thereof; If it did appear that he were convinced, that the Jesuits or others that have the guidance of his Conscience, had given him advice destructive of his  
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own true Interest, and his People's Welfare, and so would shake them off, and for ever banish them his presence; If, lastly, it did appear he were convinced, that he had made Alliances pernicious not only to his own Kingdoms (at the long run) but to all Christian Kingdoms and States in *Europe*, especially the Protestant, and so would take new measures, and enter into new Alliances for our and their Weal; If, I say, it were evident, he were thus alter'd, less could be said against his being put into such a capacity as you speak of. But when the contrary to all this is notorious, who can but confess the imprudence of such an Overture?

*Capt.* Can you ever think of settling things upon a lasting Foundation without the King?

*Dissent.* 'Tis not my business to settle the Nation; that, I hope, will be done to general satisfaction by the Convention when they meet, at least things will be put in a way to it.

*Capt.* Yes, I saith, we are like to have the Nation hopefully settled, by a Convention of *Republicans*, *Fanaticks*, *Associators*, and *Exclusioners*.

*Trim.* I hope, *Captain*, there will be but very few of the two first sorts you mention Returned, there being not one in an hundred (I believe) of those who stood fairest for being chosen, of those Principles. And as for *Associators*, though a great deal of Art has been used, and pains taken of late years to have all *Associations* in general abhor'd and damn'd; yet I doubt not but thousands that have signed the present Association,

ciation, are Men of Loyal Principles, true Sons of the Church, and hearty Well-wishers to the happiness and prosperity of the Nation; without any other design in subscribing it, than to pursue the *express Ends* of the Prince's Declaration.

*Capt.* Well, but what can you say for the *Bill of Exclusion-men*?

*Trim.* 'Tis very likely there will a considerable Number of those persons meet in this Convention. For it must be confessed, that the House of Commons in those two Parliaments, wherein that *Bill* was so vehemently contended for, consisted of Gentlemen that were generally of the greatest Estates, Reputation, Note, and Interest in their several Countries. Several of them indeed (and some of them of the most eminent) have since died, some natural deaths, others by the Ax; yet a great number of them still survive. But though they were for excluding the then *D. of York* from the Succession, yet now that he has been Crowned King, and they have sworn Allegiance to him, 'tis probable many of them may recede from their former opinions, and think it unlawful to put the King out of the Government, though they were against his being admitted into it, if it could by a Law have been prevented.

*Capt.* That's very well observ'd; for the Case is much different. Not but that the endeavour to exclude him from the Succession was an unlawful hellish project of *Shaftsbury* and his Party. But he was then a Subject, and though *Heir* to the Crown, yet not

*Apparent,*



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*Apparent*, but only in *Expectancy* : So that in the Event it might so have happen'd, that no Injustice should have been done the Duke, *viz.* if King Charles the Second had lived to have an Heir of his own Body, or if the Duke had died before the King. Whereas by the decease of his Brother, He has now almost four years been intated in the Government, and has by all Ranks and Orders of Men been acknowledged for their Lawful Sovereign; and which is more than all, has been anointed of God, *by whom Kings Reign*, to rule over us.

*Dissent.* 'Tis considerable, Sir, what you urge, as to the difference of the two Cases. And as I said before, that I would not be so bold as to suggest *Any* way for the settling of the Nation; so much less shall I be so sawcy as to insinuate, that it *must* be by deposing the King, or so confident as to undertake the justifying of it. But seeing we are entred upon a free Discourse, give me leave to say something, by way of Argument, to what you now urged. As to the *Bill of Exclusion*, the *principal* Motive to it, was, the Duke's being a Papist; under whose Government it was suspected a Protestant Nation could not be happy. How far such a suspicion might justify that *Bill*, the Speeches in Parliament in the debate thereof, and several Papers then published, (particularly one called, *The Character of a Popish Successor*, and another, *A Tory Plot*) did evince. How satisfactorily and convincingly I will not determine. But was it less or more, I will aver, That there is more reason

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for Exclusion now, than then. There is not only a *Suspicion*, but the *Experience* of what was suspected. All that, and more than that (considering the shortness of the time) which was feared would come to pass under a Popish King, hath come to pass. So that what was called by the Abhorrrers of the Exclusion-Bill, groundless Jealousies and undutiful Surmises, is become true History. But you'll say, though the *reason from the thing* be greater; yet the *Person's* being now under another Capacity and Character than then, doth more than countervail that difference. As to that, I need not engage in a Discourse about the Sacredness of the Kingly Function, and the Impunity of Kings; nor determine whether Subjects may have sufficient cause to warrant them to depose their Sovereign: For I conceive that is not our Case. But, as my Friend here did well observe before, the King has sav'd his Subjects the trouble of such deliberation. He has himself relinquish'd the Government, not only upon a forcible expulsion, but against the submits and dutiful desires of his Subjects to stay. Which Action does as it were thus bespeak them: "I have follow'd such advice as I see has created me great envy and trouble; Those that gave it, are not able to maintain me in the practice of it; nor save themselves from being call'd to account for it; but are every one shifting for themselves: so that I shall be deprived of their further Counsels and Assistance, and quite frustrated in the Designs I laid on; I can not, nor will not so far debate my self, as to make  
"my

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" my Subjects Arbiters of my Actions, and subject  
 " my self to their Censures. And seeing I cannot  
 " protect those who have served me, and whom alone  
 " I can trust; I am resolv'd to run the same Fortune  
 " with them, let what will become of the *poison'd*  
 " Nation.]

*Capt.* Well, but though he be gone, he is our King  
 still, and 'tis our duty to desire him to return to the  
 Government.

*Dissent.* Sir, I will not dispute about Names, nor  
 plead how improperly *He* is my King, that, (I do  
 not say *cannot*, but) *will not* yield me protection, but  
 voluntarily exposes me to *another's* Power, or leaves  
 me to my *own*. But be he so called, what reason has  
 he to expect, or we to give such an invitation? 'Tis  
 manifest he lookt upon the invitation to return after  
 his first attempt to be gone, as an injury done him;  
 and thought he was under restraint all the time he  
 staid after, till his second Expedition. Yea and so  
 complain'd many of those too, who are now so much  
 for his being again invited. Some there are that will  
 be pleased neither full nor fasting. I know several  
 that four months ago were as full of complaints a-  
 gainst the Government as any other, and as desirous  
 of redress, who now by their murmuring and discon-  
 tents, seem willing to have affairs reduc'd to the same  
 state they were then in, or a worse, so they may but  
 have the King again; rather than to have them all  
 set to rights, unless He be the Instrument. This is  
 just like *David's* fondness to his Son *Absalom*, and  
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may with very little variation be justly reprov'd in Joab's words to David, *Thou lovest thine enemies, and hatest thy friends; for thou hast declared this day, that thou regardest neither the Prince nor his Servants; for this day I perceive that if the King had prevailed, and all they had died, then it had pleased thee well.* But blessed be God, that his wise Counsels and Providential Dispensations are not as mutable as the humours of men: And blessed be the same God, That he hath rais'd us up a Saviour whose Counsels are as steady as his Enterprizes Heroick; and who, more like God than Man, continues to do good to the evil and unto the unthankful, and to help those who have destroyed, and would destroy themselves.

*Capt.* So then, I perceive, you look upon the King as an *Enemy*?

*Trim.* Pray, Captain, take no Exceptions; my Friend here is a little warm.

*Capt.* Nay, you're e'en as bad as he; only a little more wary in your expressions. I see you're both agreed on setting aside the King, and making a blessed Reformation. I warrant, you take the Prince for a Saint, and think that he'll do all the fine things he promises.

*Trim.* I believe he will, so far as lies in his power. For besides that he is a Person of Integrity, Gallantry and Honour, and so will scorn to be worse than his word; It is also his *Interest* to pursue the Ends of his Declaration, that the Popish Interest may so be broken, as never to be able to revenge it self upon him.

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or his. Nay more than all this, He has that sense of the excellency of the Protestant Religion, and that concern for it, that his Conscience is a Tye above all other, to engage him to accomplish all he has undertaken for the maintaining of it.

*Capt.* What, do you think a Presbyterian will ever maintain the Church of *England*? I doubt not but he'll mump the Church-men, as *Charles* the Second did the Presbyterians.

*Trim.* I think you have no reason to call Him a Presbyterian, seeing he chuses to have the Church-men to preach before him, receives the Sacrament at their hands, and is present at and devout in all the Offices. But suppose he were one; His encouragement to this Expedition, and the Assistance he has received in it, may enough convince him how dangerous it is to meddle with the Church of *England*, whose Members are so numerous and potent, and so full of mettle when their Rights are invaded. *Faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* Indeed there are some things in the Church of *England* which want to be reformed, but take it altogether, and it is the best constituted Church in the World.

*Capt.* So, so, are you at that already? Pray, Mr. Reformer, what can you find fault with?

*Trim.* I love not to find fault, but where 'tis evident and notorious. One thing is, the manner of the choice of our Bishops: The having them first nominated by the King, and then chosen by the Electors. Which, beside the absurdity, I had almost said profaneness of it,

It, viz. when the Electors go to Prayers, that God would direct them to make a good Choice, whilst they know before-hand whom they *must* chuse, be he good or bad : I say, besides this, it is greatly prejudicial to the Church. For we have generally those nominated who are utter strangers to the Clergy of the Diocese they are nominated to, and to the state and affairs of it. And besides, of late especially, such stand fairest to be nominated, as are Court-flatterers and Parasites, that preach up the King's Prerogatives to an undue height, and promote the opinion of an absolute uncontrollable Power invested in Him by God. Whereas, if the Electors had a free Choice, 'tis probable they would chuse one of themselves, that knows and is known unto them all, whose Manners, Disposition and Principles they are acquainted with, and who having long resided in the Diocese, is far more capable of managing the Affairs of it, than a stranger can be.

*Capt.* Would you have this Flower then taken out of the King's Crown?

*Trim.* I would render to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*, and to God the things that are God's. A Bishop is a Spiritual person, and his Office Spiritual; and He receives his Character partly from his Electors, and partly from his Consecrators, but not at all from the King.

*Capt.* Well, but a Bishop in *England* is a Lord, as well as Bishop, and that Dignity however he receives from the King.

*Trim.*



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*Trim.* The King may confer Honour where he pleases; but a Bishop is never the less a Bishop for want of it. But to let that pass. Another thing notoriously faulty, is the abuse of *Excommunication*.

*Capt.* I confess that, for 'tis what our Clergy generally complain of, both that it is committed to wrong hands, and is denounced most commonly either on too slender, or on unjust occasions.

*Trim.* Well, I'll name no more at present; I see, my finding fault with our Church, makes my Friend look merry about mouth.

*Capt.* What, is he a *Dissenter*?

*Trim.* Yes.

*Capt.* — take me if I did not think so, he was so bitter against the King. Yet methinks they of all men have most reason to love him, and stand by him, seeing he has been so kind to them. But that which is bred in the bone, will never out of the flesh.

*Dissent.* The Dissenters are men as sensible of kindness as other persons, and as desirous of ease and liberty. But they are not so influenc'd by *sense*, as to be guided only by what they hear, and see, and feel. They heard indeed many gracious promises from the King's mouth, and read many in his Declarations, and felt the comfortable effects of them in their being loosed from the bands of *Excommunications*, discharged from Imprisonments, and shelter'd from the merciless hands of Informers and their corresponding Justices. And they thank the King heartily for all this. But they had *Reason* too, to reflect on all this, and did not presently

fently take it for gold, because it glister'd. They consider'd the Author, and his Principles; and thence could guess at the design of this kindness. 'Twas hoped, no doubt, that the Spirits of the Dissenters were so imbitter'd and exasperated against the Church of *England* for their hard usage of them for so many years, that if they were put into a capacity of revenging themselves, or at least, of breaking their yokes from off their necks, they would. And therefore they had not only the free exercise of their Religion indulged, but were let into the Government by dispensing with those Tests that kept a great many of them out. But this was easily seen through, seeing the Dissenters were only let in, to make the putting in of Papists the more plausible. And *both* were promoted, that an interest might be made up of both, sufficient to accomplish the main design of repealing the Penal Laws and Tests. By which indeed the Dissenters would have been made free; but so would the Papists too, who, no doubt, would soon have gained the Ascendant of Dissenters and Church-men also, and indulged unto both the common Liberty of Hereticks. We hoped the Church of *England* would see their Error in weakening the common Interest by their severity to their Brethren, and when they had it in their power, would come to a *due temper* to them: but be it as it would be, they would not be instrumental in ruining the whole Protestant Interest, by seemingly consulting for their own. 'Tis true, some were prevailed with to comply with the design, not discerning



discerning the danger. But they were but very inconsiderable for number, or for interest, and they are most of them by this time convinced of their Error. *Chap.* Yes, there was a gang of *Regulars*, that turn'd out all our *Ranch Loyalls* and true Churchmen, to put in a Fanatical Crew. If all those that subverted the Government must be punished, I hope these will be hang'd in the first place.

*Dissent.* Nay, pray let those take their turn before them, that by giving away the Charters, put Corporations into a capacity of being so tost and tumbled. The Fanaticks, you may remember, were as keen as any for standing it out against the *Two Warrants*, and were esteem'd as factious for their pains by your *Ranch Loyalls*, as you call them; and after the old Charters were surrendered, were generally left out in the now, by the direction and request of your *Churchmen*. Now the Dissenters are men of like passions with other men; and it need not be wonder'd at, if all of those who had been so injuriously treated, could not lay down all resentment; but would accept of a Power that did capacitate them to take as full a revenge as they pleased of those who had before so much wrong'd and abus'd them. But however I confess they were very much to blame, not only for seeking revenge, which as Christians they ought not to have done; nor only for acting by an usurped and illegal Power, which as good Commonwealthsmen, they should not have maintained: but chiefly for complying with a design to let Popery in upon us full tilt, by taking off all the restraints from Papists,

and removing all the Incapacities they lay under as to their admission into any part of the Government. Only this I would say for them, that I believe their confidence in the King's Promises, about settling Liberty of Conscience by a *Magna Charta*, &c. was the main Motive that induc'd them to do what they did. So that it was more their mistake than malice.

*Capt.* Well, but now you hope all to be Sots of Princes, and carry all before you.

*Dissent.* I'll assure you, Captain, I have neither such hopes nor desires. But we hope for our share in the happiness of the common deliverance from Slavery and Popery. We have not had so great a hand in the present Revolution as our Brethren of the Church of England; Not but that we wish as well to the Undertaking, as any others; But we knew there were thousands that were engag'd in it, of greater interest than we, who would be prejudic'd, and be the less vigorous in prosecuting of it, the more we appear'd in it. And even now there want not enough that would contract and dwindle the whole Undertaking, how Noble and Generous soever, into a Presbyterian Plot, because we appear pleas'd with it, and hope to partake of the common Salvation. But we rejoice what the greater and better part of our Brethren, take the thing by the right handle, and put that construction upon the present Transactions that they deserve. His Highness, the Prince of Orange, is of a larger Soul, than to make it his scope, only to serve a Party. His design is as extensive as the whole Protestant Interest, at home and abroad. And I dare undertake to aver, That whe-

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ver amongst us is displeased with His Conduct and present Management of Affairs, is himself addicted to a Party, and consults not the general Interest. I doubt not but that the August Convention, when they meet, will, with one heart and one hand capacitate His Highness to accomplish what he has so successfully begun: That they will make the burtien of His unparalleled Achievements for the general Good, as easy as may be, by a cheerful and grateful approbation of what those Worthy Patriots of the Nobility and Gentry, assembled at Westminster, have during this Interregnum engag'd Him in: That they will confer upon Him all the Honour that his Glorious Endeavours for the preservation of this sinking Nation challenge, and by something as Extraordinary as His Actions, will demonstrate to the present Age and to Posterity, That William Henry Prince of Orange was not more Generous in hazarding His All for the People of England, than they were Ingenuous and grateful under the Obligation.

*Trim.* Come, Captain, I see you are uneasy at my Friend's Haranguing; I wish we could come to a better Understanding one of another, and agree in what may be for all our Interests.

*Capt.* Do you think I can agree to any thing, unless the King be restor'd? Nay, I forego all hopes of any good, till that be done. My King is my All.

*Trim.* I would not dissuade you from your Loyalty; but you must consider there are other Vertues besides That, which a Man ought to value himself upon. If you have now at present an opportunity to shew your Loyalty by acting for the King, yet there:

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his admirable edification to their *Magistrate* and your  
Charity in going to the *School* of the distressed Pro-  
testants. He *bravely* challenges you the ability  
in laying down your Commission, when there is so  
much blood for proof of your Courage and Conduct  
for that Service.

*Capt.* That I were faine, I saith, to fight against those  
that are Commissioned by the King, I am the more  
of the Oath I have taken thus far. Let the Pro-  
testants, there make what shift they can, for I had as  
lieve they and my self too, were under the Papists, as  
under the Presbyterians.

*Trimo.* Why will you do the Presbyterians the ho-  
nour, as to make all under that denomination that ap-  
pear here against Popery? I must tell you, the  
Church-men are as zealous and contented for their  
Religion as any others, and are as forward to maintain  
it in any way that is warrantable, as I doubt not but  
the intended Expedition for *Scotland*. And the  
ye be so sweet with you as to tell you, it will never be  
well for *England*, till this prejudice and animo-  
sity of one Party against another be laid down.

But I think we have chatted long enough, I hope by  
the next time I see you you will have better confi-  
dence of things. Good Captain, your humble servant.

*Capt.* Your humble servant, Gentlemen, I will do my best  
to serve you. Adieu, Captain.

*Dissem.* Adieu, Captain. I would not have you  
to be so much concerned for other matters  
besides that, which a Man ought to value himself  
upon. If you had but an opportunity to  
show your Loyalty by acting for the King, yet there  
is

